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THE MASTER E.S.

AND

THE 'ARS MORIENDI'

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF ENGRAVING DURING THE XV^TH CENTURY

WITH FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS OF ENGRAVINGS IN THE UNIVERSITY GALLERIES AT OXFORD AND IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

LIONEL CUST, F.S.A.

M.A. TRIN. COLL. CAMB.

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AND

THE 'ARS MORIENDI'

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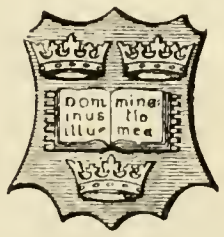

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THE fifteenth century of the Christian era marks an important epoch in the history of human progress in the Western world. One by one the well-guarded trenches and bulwarks of mediaeval convention and exclusion yielded to the pressure of time and to the onset of a completely new set of ideas. Not only were many inventions of the greatest importance brought to pass or to perfection, but several useful practices, especially among the fine arts, were freed from a kind of serfdom to mere utility and developed on lines considerably divergent from those on which they had hitherto been exercised. The art of painting, for instance, found a more open and far more profitable field in the easel-picture and the portrait than it had before when practised as a mere adjunct to the decoration of buildings or the embellishment of books. The sister-art of engraving, in both its branches of relief and intaglio, was gradually elevated from a mere utilitarian service to an important rank among the pictorial arts. The art of engraving was practised by the human race even before it emerged from a semi-feral existence, and from the roughly incised implements of the cave-dwellers the progress of the art can be traced through its infancy to a state of adolescence in Chaldaea and Assyria, Egypt and India, Greece and Etruria, in fact throughout the civilized world until its maturity in the fifteenth century after Christ. It was in truth an important branch of the applied arts, and owed eventually its chief expression to the goldsmiths, metal-workers, and wood-carvers of the Middle Ages. Two things were required before the art of engraving could be liberated from its

chains and take its place as a means of pictorial expression. The substance on which the block or plate could be impressed required to be both cheap and durable, and capable of resisting the indispensable friction and pressure. The earlier forms of paper were too costly or brittle to endure this process, while parchment and vellum were articles of luxury, requiring careful preparation and ill-suited for rapid and repeated printing. A vehicle too was required to carry the pigment or colouring matter necessary for the transfer of the design from the block to the surface which was ready to receive it, a vehicle fluid enough to be easily spread and siccative enough to remain permanent when the impression had been made. The ink of the scribe was ill-suited for the requirements of the press, and the ordinary pigments of the painter were equally so.

Such a paper and such an ink were hardly forthcoming before the commencement of the fifteenth century, and, given their discovery, engraving was ready to make its appearance upon the scene as a new pictorial art, one moreover which was destined after the lapse of very few years to give birth to what has perhaps proved the most important invention ever made for the benefit of the human race, that of printing with movable types.

In the history of engraving the precedence is usually given by historians to wood-engraving, though this is an assumption rather due to an absence of evidence to the contrary, than to any positive proof that the art of copper-plate engraving was a subsequent invention. The earliest dates which appear on wood-engravings are 1418, which is affixed, not without some doubt as to its authenticity, to a coloured woodcut of 'The Madonna and Female Saints' now in the Print Room of the Royal Library at Brussels, and 1423, an undisputed date, which appears on a woodcut of 'St. Christopher,' pasted in a manuscript from the convent of Buxheim in Bavaria, lately in the Althorp Library and now in the Rylands Library at Manchester. The earliest date which appears on a copper-plate engraving is 1446, which is affixed to one of a series of small engravings of 'The Passion,' now in the Royal Print Room at Berlin. Early as these dates may seem, and rude as the execution may be, especially in the case of the woodcuts, they can be only taken as suggestive of something approximate to a fixed date for the invention of engraving. There is nothing in any one of these instances to prove that they were the very earliest production of the two respective branches of the art, or

that some of the other undated engravings which are closely related to them may not be quite as old, if not actually of an earlier date.

The historians of wood-engraving have been content hitherto with the above dates as a starting-point for their narrative. The early history of copper-plate engraving remained however under an unmerited cloud of obscurity. The legend was generally accepted, in spite of evidence existing to the contrary, that the art was accidentally discovered by one Maso Finiguerra, an artist-goldsmith at Florence, about 1452, and up to a very recent date the invention of the art has been credited to Italy. It is possible that Finiguerra may in the course of his work in niello, as Vasari narrates, have discovered the art so far as he and his companions in Italy were concerned. It can however be shown that engraving on copper was practised several years before in Germany and the Netherlands, and in all probability in Italy as well. In the earlier works on engraving, such as Heinecken's *Idée Générale d'une Collection Complette d'Estampes* (1771), Bartsch's *Le Peintre Graveur* (1803–1821), and Passavant's supplement to the same (1860–1864), a very large number of copper-plate engravings are catalogued as belonging to the early German or Netherlandish schools. They are all executed in a rough, dry and angular style, such as used at one time to be meant by the epithet 'Gothic.' Few bear a mark or signature by which the artist can be indicated or discovered, but the majority from internal evidence were capable of classification under certain distinct heads and dates. A very large number however remained without classification or identification of any sort, and even the learned researches of students like Willshire, Renouvier, Duchesne, and others threw but little light upon the subject. It was left to Professor Dr. Max Lehrs, the present Director of the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings in the Royal Museums at Dresden, to devote his energy and leisure, aided by unflagging industry and most careful and accurate powers of observation, to the examination and rearrangement of the copper-plate engravings of this date. In this he was largely assisted by the great advance shown in the arrangement of the engravings in the magnificent collections in the British Museum, at Berlin, Amsterdam, and elsewhere.

By dint of examining in person every known and accessible specimen in public and private collections throughout Europe, Dr. Lehrs has succeeded in elucidating and constructing an almost complete history of copper-plate engraving north of

the Alps during the fifteenth century. The result of his researches, now in course of publication, is likely to prove the final and standard work upon the subject. It is on them that the remarks in the following pages are based, Dr. Lehrs having generously placed the whole of his vast knowledge on this special subject at the service of the present writer.

The first important discovery which Dr. Lehrs may be said to have made is that among the engravers of the fifteenth century who preceded Albrecht Dürer, there are some who reveal themselves as original artists of great skill and merit, while others betray themselves as being mere mechanical copyists, their skill lying almost solely in the reproduction, or in all probability actual piracy, of the works of other artists. All the engravers of this date appear to have been workers in gold or other metals, and to have carried on this craft concurrently with that of engraving.

In the category of original artists appears an engraver who is known from his principal works as The Master of the Playing Cards (Meister der Spielkarten)[1]. Among other fruits of Dr. Lehrs' researches has been the discovery that the engravings of the early part of the fifteenth century, even the very earliest, had sufficient vogue to be used as models for the miniaturist to copy from. In the ornamental borders of an illuminated manuscript of Livy, now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris, and in another manuscript, 'Liber Alexandri de Proeliis,' now in the library of St. Gall in Switzerland, Dr. Lehrs has been able to trace figures, directly copied from those in the set of playing-cards engraved on copper by the aforesaid engraver. Both these manuscripts are dated 1454, and it may be assumed that the engravings must by that time have had a wide circulation. A still earlier date can be discovered from the works of an almost contemporary engraver, known from his two principal works as The Master of the Gardens of Love (Meister der Liebesgärten), who, as it would appear from the costume of the figures in his engravings, was of Burgundian extraction. Two engravings by this master are evidently copies of engravings by The Master of the Playing Cards—a 'St. Anthony,' and the bordure of flowers to a 'Flight into Egypt,' the latter use of the original designs being curiously parallel to that of the miniaturists mentioned above. Now this engraver, who may or may not have been an original artist

[1] See Max Lehrs, *Die ältesten Deutschen Spielkarten* (Dresden, 1885).

at times, engraved a series of small prints illustrating 'The Passion,' of which eight only have survived[1].

This series of 'The Passion' appears to have been the original from which three series of *grisaille* miniature-paintings were taken, which are found in manuscripts of the period. In an undated Latin book of prayers in the Royal Library at Brussels twenty-two *grisaille* drawings appear, representing scenes from the Passion and the lives of the Saints, in which the eight known engravings by The Master of the Gardens of Love were copied. An undated Netherlandish book of prayers in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp contains fourteen *grisaille* drawings of a similar nature. In a manuscript of 'Le Miroir de la Salvation Humaine,' also in the Royal Library at Brussels, a similar series of *grisaille* engravings occur, comprising a Passion series, in which the said eight engravings are copied, and a series of Saints, among which figures the St. Anthony of The Master of the Gardens of Love. Twice are found in this manuscript animals from the set of playing-cards engraved by The Master of the Playing Cards. This last manuscript was written for Philip, Duke of Burgundy, by Jean Miellot, and is dated 1448. It is evident therefore that not only the engravings of The Master of the Playing Cards but also those of The Master of the Gardens of Love enjoyed a considerable vogue and popularity previous to 1448. The date therefore of 1446 on the Renouvier Passion series at Berlin can only be accepted as the earliest known date which appears upon a copper-plate engraving, and not as any proof of its being the actual date of invention.

The eight prints of the Passion by The Master of the Gardens of Love were pasted in a small manuscript book of prayers of the fifteenth century, which has been broken up and dispersed. Fragments of this manuscript are in the collections of engravings in the German Museum at Nuremberg, the National Library at Paris, the Royal Library at Dresden, and elsewhere. The other prints pasted in the same manuscript are by different hands, the greater number being by the engraver known as The Master of St. Erasmus, owing to the fact that an original engraved plate by him with this subject exists in the German Museum at Nuremberg[2].

[1] See Max Lehrs, *Der Meister der Liebesgärten* (Dresden, 1893).

[2] See Max Lehrs, *Katalog der im Germanischen Museum befindlichen deutschen Kupferstiche des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Nürnberg, 1888).

The Master of St. Erasmus was an engraver (or perhaps a school of engravers) in a very rough manner, whose very numerous works do not show evidence of any originality as an artist. He may be presumed to have been a prolific producer of copies from engravings, and perhaps from miniature-paintings, all executed in such a size as to admit of being pasted into the books of prayers which were small enough to be carried in the hand. A large number of such prints, many of them still inserted on their original pages of manuscript, are to be seen in the collections at the British Museum and in the Grand-Ducal Library at Darmstadt. This engraver copied among others the engravings of The Master of the Playing Cards, The Master of the Gardens of Love, and the still more important engraver, with whom this essay has chiefly to deal, The Master E. S. or The Master of 1466.

The engraver, who is known sometimes by his initials E. S., which appear on a few engravings, sometimes by the date of 1466, which appears on others, is the first artist of real importance in the history of art who devoted his skill to engraving. In his hands the art of copper-plate engraving reached a high level, both in actual technical execution and in pictorial creation and sentiment. He did not however succeed in liberating it from the cramped and dry angularity which is so characteristic of Northern art at this date. There can be little doubt but that he was a working goldsmith, and practised in his craft, yet he shows a painter's eye in the new appearance of colour and relief, which he gives by shading in his engravings those portions of the composition which earlier engravers or miniature-painters had been content to leave open, to be completed by the addition of colour. In this The Master E. S. showed the way for the more advanced productions in 'black and white' of such famous artists as Martin Schongauer and Albrecht Dürer.

The art of The Master E. S. shows many traces of the influence of the famous painter of Bruges, Rogier Van der Weyden. The gentle suavity of the types combined with the lean angularity of the figures is characteristic of the great Fleming, but in the case of The Master E. S. they are enlivened by an unexpected vivacity and realism, which is sometimes carried even to audacity, and appears as the precursor of the subsequent realistic art of the Netherlands and the districts of Lower or Western Germany. Such a spirit is found in some of

the works of Martin Schongauer, and still more so in those of the great original 'dry-point' engraver who is known as The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or of the 'Hausbuch.'

The subjects depicted by The Master E. S. in his engravings are of the most varied description, sacred and secular, ranging from the Bible and the Saints to scenes from every-day life, sometimes of a very free description, with heraldry, playing-cards, and designs for goldsmiths. Upwards of 320 distinct original engravings by The Master E. S. have been identified, and some forty more can be recognized as copies made by other engravers from originals by The Master E. S., of which no impressions are as yet known to exist.

Many attempts have been made to localize the home of this engraver, but it is difficult to prove anything more than that he seems to have belonged to the region of the Upper Rhine between Alsace and the Black Forest, probably somewhere about Freiburg or Breisach[1]. It is noteworthy that his great successor, Martin Schongauer, was a native of Colmar in Alsace and died at Breisach in 1491. It is not impossible, and it is at all events pleasing to conjecture, that Schongauer's early studies in the art of engraving were made under the superintendence of The Master E. S., with whose works he could hardly have failed to have been acquainted. It would appear from the most recent researches that the engraver known as The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet was one of a group of artists working at Mayence. As the Rhine was the great highway of all traffic at this date, it is not surprising to find the chief works in printing and engraving issuing from such important riverside towns as Breisach, Mayence, and Cologne. The engravers in one town can hardly have escaped familiarity with the works of their contemporaries in other Rhenish cities.

A feature common to the engravings of these three great artists is that their work is always entirely original. In no case can they be shown to have stooped to copy or even borrow the designs of another artist. Copies innumerable are known of the works of The Master E. S., as of those of Schongauer, but his designs with their good and their bad points are invariably his own. The works of The Master E. S. show also a gradual and steady progress both in technical skill and artistic conception. His earlier works are so much rougher and so immature

[1] See Max Lehrs, *Die Spielkarten des Meisters E. S.* (Intern. Chalcogr. Soc. Publications, 1891).

that they have been separated by some writers from his later works and classified as the work of a separate engraver, known as The Master of the Sibyl.

Among the earlier copyists or pirates of The Master E. S.'s engravings was The Master of St. Erasmus, whose copies cease at an early date in the career of The Master E. S. As The Master of St. Erasmus was also busied in copying the works of The Master of the Playing Cards and The Master of the Gardens of Love, it is almost safe to attribute the early work of The Master E. S. to a date contemporary with that of the two last-named engravers. It would appear that later on, when the engravings of The Master E. S. attained greater finish and excellence, the frequent piracies of them by such industrious goldsmith-engravers as Wenzel von Olmütz and Israhel van Meckenem caused The Master E. S. to protect himself by adding on his plates his initials and the date of the year in which the engraving was executed. The dates 1465, 1466, 1467, all occur on engravings by him, and as the engravings bearing these dates show him at the height of his skill, it can be assumed that his work and probably his life terminated about 1467, and when his powers were still in full maturity.

In the University Galleries at Oxford there is a remarkable and extremely valuable collection of early engravings, bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Mr. Francis Douce, F.S.A.[1] The collection contains several important examples of the engravings by The Master E. S., some of great beauty and many of extreme rarity. Among them is a series of eleven small prints, measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 3 inches (95 × 72 millimetres), illustrating the *Ars Moriendi*, or 'Art of Good or Evil Dying.' This series of engravings is complete at Oxford alone, and of only three prints in the series are other impressions known, in each case a single one and scattered as far apart as London, Berlin, and Schloss Wolfegg in South-west Bavaria[2].

The importance of this series was hardly recognized by any authority prior to Dr. Lehrs. Duchesne[3] and Renouvier[4] ascribed them rightly to The Master E. S. Bartsch did not know them, but Passavant saw them, and, confusing them with

[1] It is understood that these engravings will probably be rearranged under a proposal made by Mr. T. W. Jackson, Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College and one of the Visitors of the University Galleries, to whom the author is indebted for both assistance and advice in the preparation of this work.

[2] See Max Lehrs, *Der Künstler der Ars Moriendi und die wahre Erste Ausgabe derselben* (*Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1890, Heft iii).

[3] *Voyage d'un Iconophile*, p. 364.

[4] *Histoire de l'origine et des progrès de la Gravure*, p. 136.

sets of copies at Cologne and Vienna, classed them all as the same thing under the general heading of 'School of The Master E. S.' Passavant's error, once published to the world in print, was followed by such well-known writers as Dutuit[1] and Willshire[2]. To any student of the works of The Master E. S. it is at once evident that these prints are from his hand, and, apart from internal evidence, the fact of their having been copied by The Master of St. Erasmus would point to their being among his earlier works.

The *Ars Moriendi*, or *Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*, the 'Art of Good or Evil Dying,' was a religious treatise, used with conspicuous force and authority by the Church during its long ascendency in the Middle Ages. At this date the keys of knowledge as of salvation were entirely in the hands of the Church, and the lay public, both high and low, were, generally speaking, ignorant and illiterate. One of the secrets of the great power exercised by the Church lay in its ability to represent the life of man as environed from the outset by legions of horrible and insidious demons, who beset his path throughout life at every stage up to his very last breath, and are eminently active and often triumphant when man's fortitude is undermined by sickness, suffering, and the prospect of dissolution. From such attacks and pitfalls only the continuous presence and protection of the Church could protect the hapless pilgrim through life. In aid of such a mission certain doctrines were adopted by the leaders of the Church, and inculcated in treatises drawn up by the most eminent divines of the day, such as the famous Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. In this teaching the *Ars Moriendi*, linked as it was with the doctrine of eternal punishment, played a most important part. It was on his deathbed that a man was most amenable to advice, and in need of consolation to give him hope at the moment when his soul was about to depart into the unknown.

When pictorial art began to lend its aid to the minister of religion, it was of great service, for often, when the mind was too illiterate to understand or the

[1] *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*, vol. i. p. 28.

[2] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Early Prints in the British Museum*, by William Hughes Willshire, M.D. (London, 1879).

ear too feeble to comprehend the good doctrine which was being expounded at the bedside, the eye could follow in the print or illuminated page the subject to which the patient's thoughts were to be directed. According to the treatise for which the series of engravings by The Master E. S. was probably executed, there are five stages of danger, which the dying man must survive before the triumph of the Church is assured. These stages are—

I. Infidelity.
II. Despair.
III. Impatience.
IV. Vainglory.
V. Avarice.

The purport of the treatise is to reveal to the sufferer the temptations to which he will be subjected, and also the way in which he will be aided by Divine intervention to overcome them. Hence the prints, eleven in number, contain five pairs of subjects, representing the temptation and the protection afforded by angelic assistance, leading up to the general triumph of the Christian religion at the final moment of death. The eleven prints therefore represent—

I. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Fide* (Versuchung im Glauben).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli de Fide* (Ermuthigung im Glauben).
II. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Desperatione* (Versuchung durch Verzweiflung).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Desperationem* (Trost gegen Verzweiflung).
III. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Impatientia* (Versuchung durch Ungeduld).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli de Patientia* (Trost gegen die Versuchung durch Ungeduld).
IV. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Vana Gloria* (Versuchung durch Hoffahrt).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Vanam Gloriam* (Eingebung der Demuth gegen die Hoffahrt).
V. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Avaritia* (Versuchung durch Geiz).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Avaritiam* (Eingebung der Freigebigkeit gegen den Geiz).

Leading up to No. VI, the final Triumph over all Temptations at the Hour of Death (Triumph über alle Versuchungen in der Todesstunde).

As stated before, the only complete set of these illustrations by The Master E. S. to the *Ars Moriendi* is that in the Douce Collection, now in the University Galleries at Oxford. A single example of No. I. A is in the royal Print Room at Berlin[1], one of I. B in the British Museum, and one of II. B in the remarkable collection preserved in the castle of Wolfegg-Waldsee in South-west Bavaria. No person, who is acquainted with the engravings of The Master E. S., could fail to recognize the *Ars Moriendi* engravings as the work of his hands. The thin dry figures, with their irregular and incorrect proportions, the stiff and angular contours of the drapery, the arrangement of the hair in both male and female figures, the grotesque antics of the demons, the homely vivacity of the domestic scenes, coupled with a certain pleasingness in the whole effect, are all characteristic of the Master E. S. The very evident faults to be discerned in the technique, perspective and composition all point to an early stage in his career before he had attained his full powers as an engraver.

It could not be likely that so important a series of engravings as the *Ars Moriendi*, illustrating a subject for which there must have been a frequent demand, should have escaped the notice of a copyist. The earliest engraver to lay hands upon them was The Master of St. Erasmus, who executed two sets of copies, one apparently copied directly from the originals by The Master E. S., the other copied from this set of copies. The copies by The Master of St. Erasmus are very rough and free renderings of the originals, containing divers omissions and alterations. The first set of copies is in reverse to the originals, showing the engraver to have been a mere mechanical engraver and not an artist; the second set, being copied in reverse from the first set of copies, brings the subjects round to the same positions as in the original series.

These sets of copies are almost as rare as the originals. Of the first series of copies only two sets are known, one in the British Museum[2], much disfigured by its having been coloured by hand, the other in the Hofbibliothek at

[1] Purchased at the Firmin-Didot sale in 1877 for 980 francs.

[2] Bought in 1845 at the Heywood-Bright sale; described by Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, i. 309. Transferred in 1892 from the Library to the Print Room.

Vienna[1]. Of the second series only one set is known, that in the Stadt-Archiv at Cologne[2].

Another set of copies from the original prints was executed at a later date by an engraver who is known by his initials of M. Z. This engraver has been sometimes classed with the primitive engravers of the fifteenth century, but it is clear from his works that he really belonged to the latter part of the sixteenth century, and worked sometimes in imitation of the archaic manner. Such an engraver was Matthes Zündt, but this engraver M. Z. appears to be distinct from him. He must also be carefully distinguished from the fifteenth-century engraver with the same initials, who is sometimes known as Martin Zäsinger. The copies by the engraver M. Z. are not uncommon, and they were subsequently published with a German text in 1623 by a bookseller named Peter König in Munich.

One of the results of the careful examination of the engravings executed in Germany during the fifteenth century, initiated by Dr. Lehrs and continued by Dr. Lippmann of Berlin and other independent experts, has been to show that many engravings on wood or on metal, which from their rude method of execution have been attributed to the infancy of the art, are really nothing more than unskilful copies of better engravings. It follows therefore that mere roughness of execution can no longer be taken as a criterion of antiquity. Among such engravings are some of the *Helgen*, or prints of Saints, and some of the so-called Schrotblätter, or prints in the *manière criblée*, which had been regarded as the *incunabula* of the art, whereas they are really nothing but copies from early copper-plate engravings which in many instances have not survived.

The same remark applies to the famous Block-books, so well known to bibliographers, and of such extreme importance in themselves, owing to their having led the way to the invention of printing with movable types. These Block-books have been allotted a special place in the early history of both bibliography and xylography, and have been treated with a deference, to which it

[1] Fully described by Friedrich von Bartsch, *Die Kupferstich-Sammlung der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, pp. 124–128, No. 1503 a–m. In 1853 this set was in the possession of the antiquary Fidelis Butsch at Augsburg.

[2] See *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vols. x. p. 137, xi. pp. 51, 52, xiv. p. 110.

would appear, especially as regards their artistic value, that they are but partially entitled. They served as compendiums of moral and religious instruction, compiled in their well-known illustrative form as a handy one for conveying the precepts which they contained before the eyes of the sick or the illiterate, much in the same way as the frescoes, sculptures or painted windows did in the cathedral or the parish church. The best known of the Block-books are the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Canticum Canticorum*, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the *Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*, the *Ars Memorandi*, and others. In most cases it would appear that the designs were taken from drawings of an earlier date or from the illuminations in manuscripts.

In 1872 the Trustees of the British Museum acquired at the great Weigel sale in Leipzig a Block-book of the utmost rarity, for which the large sum of £1072 10*s.* was paid, exclusive of commission. This book has always excited great interest for its text and its illustrations, and in the British Museum Catalogue it is described as 'believed to be the first edition of this often-repeated work, by reason of the beauty and originality of the designs, and the sharpness of outline, which proves its impression to be an early one.' All that is known about its history is that it was purchased by Herr Weigel for a moderate price from a private owner at Cologne. In 1881 the Block-book of the *Ars Moriendi* was selected for reproduction by the Holbein Society, being published in lithographic facsimile from carefully drawn copies made by Mr. F. C. Price, and edited by Mr. W. Harry Rylands, with an Introduction by Mr. George Bullen, at that time Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum. The title of this work describes the Block-book as the *Ars Moriendi* (*Editio Princeps, circa* 1440). In the Introduction Mr. Bullen gives some valuable bibliographical information concerning the *Ars Moriendi* as a treatise, but with regard to the illustrations he has been content to adopt the views of Dr. Willshire, who had himself done little more than transcribe the statements, erroneous as will be seen, of other and earlier authorities.

The designs of the illustrations to the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book are very different from those in the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Canticum Canticorum*, and others. They show a great advance in composition and pictorial sentiment. No student of the engravings by The Master E. S. can fail to recognize in the designs of

the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book the style of this engraver, with the peculiar types and mannerisms which are so characteristic of his work.

At the time when this Block-book was acquired by the British Museum, the history of early copper-plate engraving had hardly been studied at all in England, and but imperfectly on the Continent. The works of The Master E. S. were not unknown nor their merit unrecognized, but their number, their originality, and their important position in the history of Art still remained unrevealed. Since that date the researches of Dr. Lehrs, aided by the immense assistance given by the advance in photographic reproduction, have rendered it possible to classify the works of this engraver, even without immediate access to the originals. In this way the individual characteristics of The Master E. S. have become as easy to discern as those of an Albrecht Dürer, a Rembrandt, a Claude Mellan, or a Whistler. It is also possible to trace the distinct progress in both artistic and technical skill throughout the immense series of engravings by The Master E. S. Duchesne, who had seen the *Ars Moriendi* engravings in the Douce Collection, recognized in the designs of the Block-book the hand of The Master E. S. The originality however of these latter designs was generally maintained. Passavant, who saw not only the Douce prints at Oxford but also the copies by The Master of St. Erasmus at Cologne and Vienna, not only mistook these three series for different impressions of the same set of engravings, attributing them to the school of The Master E. S., but pronounced them all to be copies from the well-known and highly-esteemed designs in the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book. In this he was followed by Willshire, Dutuit, and other experts, whose knowledge of the whole series of engravings seems to have been confined to some indifferent photographs, on a reduced scale, from six of the Oxford engravings, which happened to have been done for the British Museum as far back as 1871.

It was left to Dr. Lehrs to show that the much-vaunted designs of the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book are little more than enlarged copies from the set of engravings by The Master E. S., of which original engravings the only complete series at present known is in the University Galleries at Oxford.

A description of the designs in the prints by The Master E. S. will explain the subjects of the *Ars Moriendi* as a didactic treatise. The differences in the designs when copied by The Master of St. Erasmus and by the draughtsman

of the British Museum Block-book are immaterial so far as the meaning of the designs is concerned, but in some cases the errors or imperfections in the original designs of The Master E. S. have been corrected or improved by the later artists.

In the following descriptions the series referred to are denoted as—

(*a*) The prints of The Master E. S. in the Douce Collection at Oxford.

(*b*) The copies by The Master of St. Erasmus in the Print Room at the British Museum.

(*c*) The designs of the Block-book in the Library at the British Museum.

I. A. Temptacio Dyaboli de Fide (*Versuchung im Glauben*) [1].

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed, the head of which is directed towards the right. He is much emaciated, and his naked chest with one arm is seen above the bed-clothes. Four demons assail him. One is drawing away the sheet from behind his head. A second, on his right behind the bed, points to a group of learned men engaged in animated discussion, evidently heretics. A third, in the air in the left upper corner of the print, points downwards to a group of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba adoring idols. A fourth demon, on the right-hand side of the bed, points to two figures, of a woman, semi-nude, who holds a scourge in her left hand and a bundle of rods in her right, and a man who is represented in the act of cutting his throat with a knife. Behind the bed are seen figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary.

(*b*) The composition is the same, but in reverse, and the third demon in the air has been omitted.

(*c*) The composition is similar to (*a*), but to the second demon is attached a scroll with the words *fac sicut pagani* [2], to the third a scroll with the words *infernus factus est*, and to the fourth a scroll with *interficias te ip̃m.*

I. B. Bona Inspiracio Angeli de Fide (*Ermuthigung im Glauben*).

(*a*) The dying man lies on a bed, directed towards the right, with a wooden canopy to it. An angel stands in front of the bed in an attitude of exhortation.

[1] The Latin titles are taken from the Block-book ; the German from Dr. Lehrs's descriptions.
[2] These inscriptions are cut in type similar to that used for the text of the Block-book.

Behind the bed stand God the Father, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, with Moses and a company of Saints with halos, numbering nineteen in all. The dove of the Holy Spirit rests on the canopy of the bed. On the ground are three demons in an attitude of despair.

(*b*) The same composition very roughly executed in reverse. The caterpillar-shaped demon in the foreground is omitted. Only seven distinct halos seen in the background.

(*c*) Similar to (*a*) : the angel holds a scroll with the words *sis firmus ĩ fide.* By the three demons on the floor are three scrolls with the words *fugiamus, Victi sumus, frustra laborauim*[9]. The dove of the Holy Spirit has been shifted from the right corner of the canopy to the left, and is barely recognizable. The number of halos in the background is twenty-one.

II. A. Temptacio Dyaboli de Desperacione (*Versuchung durch Verzweiflung*).

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed, the head of which is directed towards the right. His left arm rests upon the coverlet. He is tormented by six demons. They point to various figures of men and women denoting the sins of fornication, perjury, murder, robbery, &c., while one holds up a sheet of paper, on which may be supposed to be inscribed a list of the dying man's misdeeds.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse, but some alterations in the characters of the figures.

(*c*) The same composition as (*a*), on an enlarged scale; the demons are accompanied by scrolls with the words *fornicatus es, periurus es, ecce pcc̃a tua, occidisti, auare uixisti.* A wooden head has been added to the bed.

II. B. Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Desperationem (*Trost gegen Verzweiflung*).

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed towards the right, his arms under the bed-clothes. An angel stands in front of the bed pointing to various typical instances of repentant sinners—Mary Magdalene, St. Peter (whose emblem, the cock, is perched on the head of the bed), the Penitent Thief on the Cross, and the Conversion of St. Paul. Two defeated demons lie on the floor by or under the bed.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse, with a few alterations in the figures; St. Peter especially being made much younger in appearance.

(*c*) The same composition as (*a*), with scrolls attached to the defeated demons inscribed *Nequaquã desperes, Victoria michi nulla.*

III. a. Temptacio Dyaboli de Impaciencia (*Versuchung durch Ungeduld*).

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed towards the right, both arms disengaged above the bed-clothes; a demon with bat's wings is near the bed on the floor to the right. With his left foot the dying man is kicking away his medical attendant, while a woman (his wife?) stands in a deprecating attitude. In front of the bed is a maid-servant with food and drink, looking in astonishment at a table, which with its contents has been capsized, evidently by another kick of the dying man's foot.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse.

(*c*) The same composition as (*a*). By the women is a scroll with the inscription *Ecce q̃tam penã patiꝫ*, and by the demon one inscribed *q̃ bene decepi eum.*

III. b. Bona Inspiracio Angeli de Paciencia (*Trost gegen die Versuchung durch Ungeduld*).

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed towards the right, his hands in an attitude of prayer. An angel stands in front of his bed, round which are seen figures of four martyrs, St. Stephen, St. Catherine, St. Lawrence, and St. Barbara, with God the Father holding an arrow and a scourge, and Jesus Christ crowned with thorns and holding a scourge and a bundle of rods. A demon is seen creeping under the bed, and another is lying prostrate on the floor.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse.

(*c*) A similar composition to (*a*), scrolls accompanying the demons, with the words *sum captiuatus* and *labores amisi.*

IV. a. Temptacio Dyaboli de Vana Gloria (*Versuchung durch Hoffahrt*).

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed to the right, tormented by four demons, three of whom offer him crowns. Behind the bed stand God the Father with three little

children, typical of simplicity, and Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary as types of humility. Portions of the figures of three other Saints are seen behind them.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse, with no traces of the additional Saints and a more decorative head to the bed.

(*c*) The same composition as (*a*). To the figure of God the Father is attached a scroll with the inscription *Tu es firmus in fide*, and to three of the four demons scrolls with *Gloriare, Coronã meruisti, Exaltate ipsum, Inpatiẽcia ꝑseuerasta.*

IV. B. Bona Inspiracio Angeli contra Vanam Gloriam (*Eingebung der Demuth gegen die Hoffahrt*).

(*a*) The dying man lies on a bed to the right, his arms under the bed-clothes: three angels attend him, one of whom holds up a blank sheet of paper to show that his sins have been wiped out. In the sky behind float figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary with the dove of the Holy Spirit, and on the left stands St. Anthony the Hermit, as a type of humility. Two demons lie defeated on the floor, and in the lower corner on the right are seen the jaws of hell, in which three figures are being engulfed, including one of a monk and a woman in an embrace.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse, but the figures of the monk and woman have been greatly modified.

(*c*) The same composition as (*a*), but the angel behind the bed holds, instead of the empty paper, a scroll inscribed *Sis humilis.* By the prostrate demon in front is a scroll inscribed *Victus sum*, and by the jaws of hell one inscribed *Superbos punio.*

V. A. Temptacio Dyaboli de Avaricia (*Versuchung durch Geiz*).

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed to the right, both his arms under the bed-clothes. He is tormented by three demons, one of whom points to a group of people representing his family and relatives, and the other two to his house, which occupies the lower part of the print, showing a man leading a mule into a stable, and a cellar stored with barrels, three of which are seen.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse; five barrels are seen in the cellar.

(*c*) The same composition as (*a*), but not only are five barrels seen in the cellar, but also a man drawing wine from one of them. Attached to the demons are scrolls inscribed *Prouideas amicis* and *Intende thesauro.*

V. B. Bona Inspiracio Angeli contra Avariciam (*Eingebung der Freigebigkeit gegen den Geiz*).

(*a*) The dying man lies in bed to the right, exhorted by an angel. Behind the head of the bed are seen the crucified Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and in the background stands God the Father (?) as the Good Shepherd between a flock of sheep and a group of female Saints. In the foreground to the left an angel is enveloping a man and woman in a cloak, and on the floor to the right is seated a demon in an attitude of despair.

(*b*) The same composition in reverse, very roughly rendered.

(*c*) The same composition as (*a*). The angel by the bedside has a scroll inscribed *Non sis auarus,* and the other angel one inscribed *Ne intendas amicis.* The demon on the floor holds a scroll inscribed *Quid faciam.*

VI. The last print represents the final Triumph over all Temptations at the Hour of Death (*Triumph über alle Versuchungen in der Todesstunde*).

(*a*) The composition is a very crowded one. The dying man lies in bed to the right, holding a taper in his *left* hand, which is crossed over the right. A monk is placing the taper in his hand. His soul in the shape of a child issues from his mouth and is received by a company of angels. In the background on the left is seen the crucified Saviour with St. John the Evangelist standing on the *right* of the Cross and the Virgin Mary on the *left* of it. Behind St. John are seen portions of four Saints, and behind the Virgin Mary St. Mary Magdalene, St. Paul, and portions of eight other Saints. Six demons stand in angry derision at the foot of the bed.

(*b*) The same composition, but in reverse, thus correcting the faults of (*a*), in which the taper is held in the dying man's wrong hand, the Virgin and St. John stand on the wrong side of the Cross, and the Redeemer's head leans to the left instead of to the right shoulder, as accepted by tradition.

(*c*) The same composition as (*b*), with which the draughtsman of the Block-book would seem to have been acquainted, for he has followed the engraver of (*b*) in correcting the errors into which The Master E. S. had been betrayed. Five scrolls are attached to the demons, inscribed *Heu insanio, Confusi sumus, Furore consumor, Animã amisimus, Spes nobis nulla.*

It will be noticed that in the last subject especially certain mistakes have been made by The Master E. S., which have been rectified by the draughtsman of the Block-book, but at the expense of reversing the whole composition, thus destroying the symmetry of the position of the dying man throughout the scenes. As Dr. Lehrs has pointed out [1], such defects are not unfrequent among the earlier works of The Master E. S., and those in the *Ars Moriendi*, together with the imperfections of the technique, help to prove that these engravings belong to his earlier work. The Master of St. Erasmus copied the whole series simply in reverse. The sixteenth-century engraver M. Z. copied the whole series by The Master E. S. in the same direction as the originals, and all the mistakes of the originals are repeated in this last version.

Another noteworthy difference in the Block-book series is the addition of the scrolls with the inscriptions in large cursive letters described above. When the crowded and cramped designs of The Master E. S. were copied on a larger scale the increased spaces left room for the introduction of these scrolls, which are introduced without much regard for the beauty of the composition, but serve to elucidate the meaning of the designs, a meaning which is not always quite evident at first sight. In IV. B (*c*) especially the substitution of the scroll for the empty paper points to an alteration by a later hand.

All subsequent wood-cut copies have been taken from the Block-book [2], and through constant translation by various hands some of the designs in the later copies are hardly to be recognized as the same.

To the eye of the ordinary observer the designs of the Block-book, in their enlarged and more intelligible form, may appear to be more pleasing and attractive and of greater artistic merit than the cramped and crowded compositions of the

[1] Lehrs, *Der Künstler der Ars Moriendi*, &c.

[2] See Dutuit, *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*, vol. i., for a list of editions of the *Ars Moriendi*, some of which are there stated to be earlier than the British Museum Block-book.

copper-plate engravings. It is impossible however for any student of German engraving in the fifteenth century to fail to recognize in the designs of the Block-book the style of The Master E. S. Should there be any hesitation as to determining the priority of the Block-book or the Oxford series of copper-plate engravings, the only alternative to the conclusion already arrived at would be to attribute the wood-cuts themselves to The Master E. S., in which case the anomaly would be presented of this great and original artist, among whose numerous engravings no copy of any other artist's work is known, having for one occasion only laid down his graver for the knife, and then translated his own designs for the more easily printed and more popular language of wood-engraving into the more difficult and obscure version on copper. Such a supposition can hardly be entertained, and there is little reason for not accepting the conclusion of Dr. Lehrs, that the unique series of engravings in the Douce Collection at Oxford are the real *editio princeps* of the famous *Ars Moriendi*. The dates fixed by conjecture for the publication of the Block-book, either 1440 or 1451, approximate to the date in the career of The Master E. S. at which it would appear from their *technique* that the series of copper-plate illustrations to the *Ars Moriendi* were executed.

'ARS MORIENDI'

FACSIMILES OF ENGRAVINGS

IN THE

UNIVERSITY GALLERIES AT OXFORD

AND IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

I. A

I. B

II. A

II. B

ORIGINAL PRINTS BY THE MASTER E. S.

[*In the University Galleries, Oxford*]

III. A

III. B

IV. A

IV. B

ORIGINAL PRINTS BY THE MASTER E. S.

[*In the University Galleries, Oxford*]

V. A

V. B

VI

ORIGINAL PRINTS BY THE MASTER E. S.

[*In the University Galleries, Oxford*]

I. A

I. B

II. A

II. B

COPIES BY THE MASTER OF ST. ERASMUS

[*In the Print-Room of the British Museum*, 1892, 12. 1 (1–12)]

III. A

III. B

IV. A

IV. B

COPIES BY THE MASTER OF ST. ERASMUS

[*In the Print-Room of the British Museum*, 1892, 12. 1 (1–12)]

V. A

V. B

VI

COPIES BY THE MASTER OF ST. ERASMUS

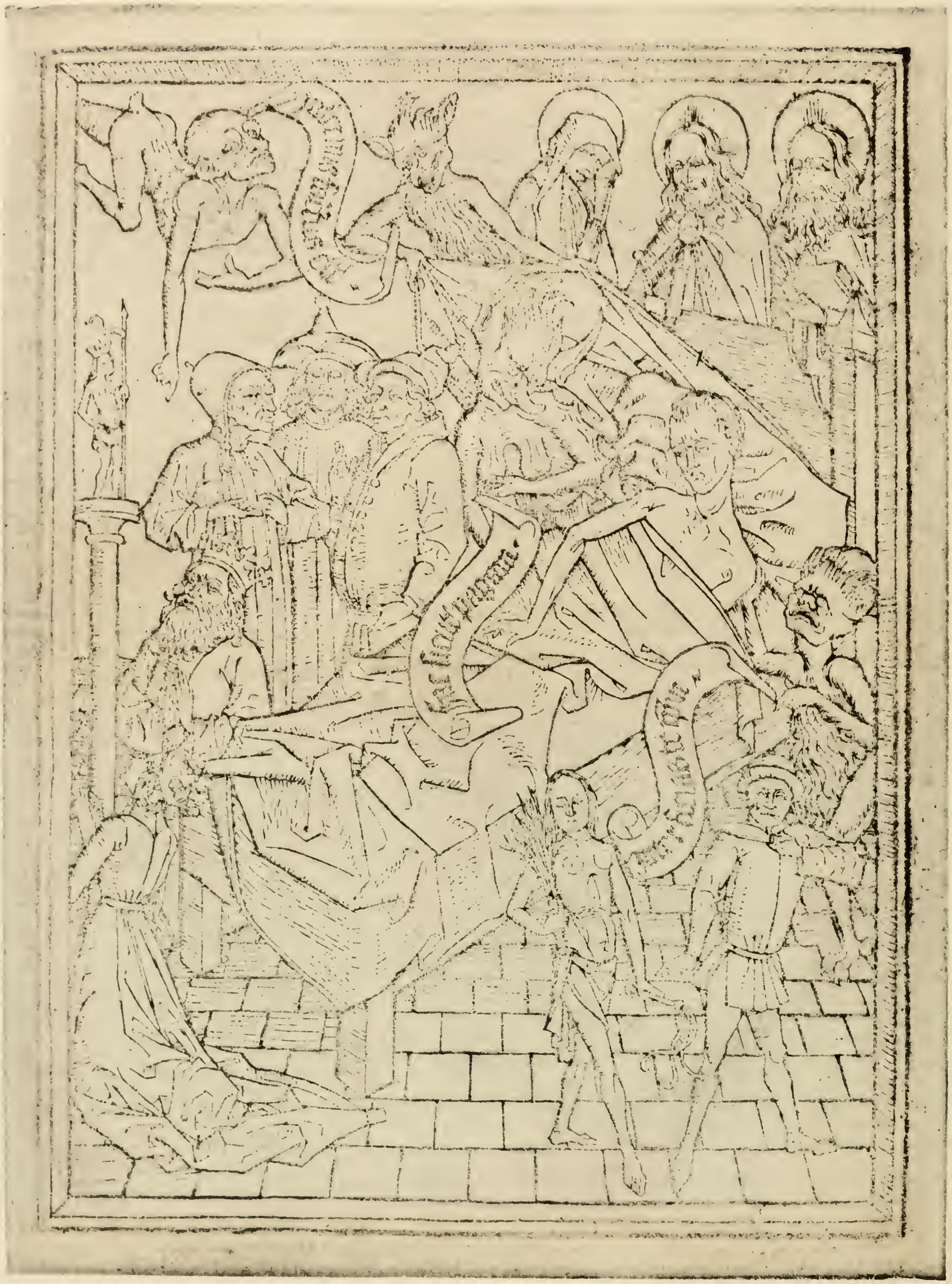
[*In the Print-Room of the British Museum*, 1892, 12. 1 (1–12)]

'ARS MORIENDI' BLOCK-BOOK

[*In the Library of the British Museum, c.* 21. *d.* 34]

Omnes secundum philosophū Tamo ethnicum
omniū terribile, nam corpus sit terribile mors
quoq; tamen animi. nullatenus est comparanda
Vide augustino qui est famosus est de cupiditate in epistola
ne duplex anime q̄ unius corporis. Vide etiam Bernardo qui
dicit Tales ille mundus ad duplex animi pernā ethnica
non potest. Plures ergo anime tanto est horribilior mors
de ethnicho. q̄to anima corpore est nobilior. atq; preciosior
Sum ergo anima tanto p̄ salutatus erubescit de diabolus
pro morte plus eterna hominū in exitu mala mortem
maximus tamen horribilis videtur. Deus sum necessarium
est. vt homo animo sue prouideat ne morte illa pdat
tur. Ad qđ. mas rune exp̄hens est. vt quilibet certum
bene moriendi. de qua est p̄sis intentio. frequenter pre oculis
habeat. atq; extremā tribulatē. mortis sua meditari
quia vt aut Gregorius. Valde se solicitum in bono ope.
qui semp cogitat de extremo sine. Nam si futurū malum
certū videretur. facilius tolleratur. posset. Juxta illud.
Futura si presentium. levius tolleratur. Sed mirum
aliquis se ad mortem disponit. tanq; sine. eo q; quilibet
dubitus se victurū existimet. nāq; credens se tam cito mo
riturū. qđ tristitia diabolica. certū est. Nam plures p
talem tenem spem. longos vivere vult. mal̄ posita vocantes
sic ergo. nullatenus futurum petitur. spes mala corpalis sanita
tis consequende. Nam secundū cancellarū. pessimum. spes p
talem falsam consolationē. et fictam sanitatis confidentiam
certam vigilat. vt homo de anima curē. Ante omnia ergo. studue
tur. impedimenta ad ea. que necessaria ad salutem requiritur.
Primo vt credat sancta hominis xp̄iani. credere debet. Ideo
tunq; in fide xp̄i. et ecclie. nisi velit. dubitare et obediam.

Secundo vbi rogauit se deū grauiter offendisse et
inde dolere. Tertio vt proponat se veracius emendare si sup-
uixerit. et vbi magis periculose. Quarto vt studiosius
sua offensacula pro deum. et remedia petat ab his. quos
ipse offendit. Quinto vt ablata restituat. Sexto vt cognos-
cat pro se mortuū esse xpm. et q̄ aliter saluari non potuit.
nisi p̄ meritū passionis xpi. de quo agat deo gratias tanquā
valde. Ad que si bene corde respondeat. tanquā ei. q̄ sit de ui-
uero saluando cre. Deinde studiose tradendus. ad debitū vsum
sacramentorū ecclie. Primo vt p̄ veram contritionem. in-
tegram sancte confessionē. alias casum ecclie sacramenta deuote
recipiendo. Nullus vero de p̄uulis ab alio interrogatus
si informatus nō fuit. sepius interroget. considerando si sit
dispositus vt p̄fatur. Cum autem sic dispositus esse
totū passionē xpi cōmittat. continue eam recitando
atq; meditando. cum per hoc omnes temptationes
dyaboli. et in fide maxime superentur. Unde notan-
dum. q̄ multi grauiores habent temptationes.
q̄ vnquam prius habuerunt. Et hinc quidq; vt pos-
tea patebit. Contra quas. magistris suggerendi sunt quin-
q; boues vltimationes. Sed vt omnibus illa visitatio
sit fructuosa. et nullus ab ipsius speculatione secludatur
sed vbi vtrā saluberrime discretio tam lectoris. tanquam
recto deseruientibus q̄ audientibus. laico et litterato
simul deseruientibus. omnibus oculis obiectum. Hinc
duo se mutuo respondentes habent se tanquā speculum.
in quo pertransita et futura. tanquā presentia speculantur.
Cum ergo bene mori velit. illa cum sequentibus diligen-
ter consideret.



Ex quo fides. est totius salutis fundamentum. et sine ea nulla omnino potest esse salus teste augustino qui ait fides est bonorum omnium fundamentum et humane salutis initium. Et bernardo dicente. fides est humane salutis ingressum sine qua nemo ad filiorum dei numerum potest pervenire. sine qua omnis labor hominis est vacuus. Ideo dyabolus totius humane gentis numerus totas omnibus hominē in extrema infirmitate. ab illa totaliter auertere nititur. vel saltem ad dubitandū in ea. quā inducere laborat dicens. tu nescis tu magno stas errore. non est sicut credis. vel sicut predicator iste tuus fractus est. quicquid homo agat. licet aliquem vel seipsum occidat. cum inducta pena sicut aliqui fecerunt. vel ydola adorando. ut reges paganorum. et plures pagani fecerunt. omne munus meum. bonum est. quia nullus inuenitur. dicens. tam vera. tam fixa fides tua nichil est. Hijs et similibus. dyabolus maxime laborat. ut hominem in extremis agentem a fide auertat. quia bene scit. si fundamentum ruat. omnia superedificata necessario ruent.

Secundum tentamen. q. dyabolus in multa temptatione. hominem cogere potest. nec eum aliquo modo preualere ut sibi consentiat. q. diuinum timorem habuerit. nisi forte voluerit. et consenserit. quod certe sine omni dubio est. Unde apostolus. fidelis deus qui non patietur vos temptari sup id. q. potestis. sed faciet cum temptatione prouentum ut possitis sustinere.

Sie fumme ich
Fugamus
Pinnamus
Fulminamus

Bona inspiratio angeli de fide

Contra pestiuam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bonā inspirationem dicens. O homo ne credas pestiferis suggestionibus dyaboli cum ipse sit mendax. Nam mendacendo prothopatres deceptit. nec aliquo modo tu de dubites. licet sensu vel intellectu comprehendere non valeas. quia si comprehendere posses. nullatenus esset meritoria. iuxta illud gregorii. fides non habet meritū. cui humana ratio prebet experimentum. Sed memento verba sanctorum patrum. scilicet sancti pauli ad hebreos xi. dicentis Sine fide impossibile est placere deo. Et johannis tertio. Qui non credit iam iudicatus est. Et bernardi dicentis. Fides est prima gratia inter virtutes. Et merito. Beatior fuit maria per credulo fide eni xpi. q̄ carnali xpi. Considera etiam fidem antiquorum fidelium. abrahe ysaac. et iacob. et quorūdam gentilium. scilicet rahab meretricis. et similiū. similiter fidem apostolorum nec non innumerabilium martirum confessorum. atq; virginū. Nam per fidem omnes antiqui et moderni placuerunt. Per fidem sanctus petrus super aquas ambulauit. Sanctus johannes venenum sibi propinatum. sine no cumento bibit. Unde autes respi. crante alexandro. per fidem adunati sunt. Et ideo fides adeo merito benedicta. Postea viriliter debes resistere dyabolo. et firmiter credere omnia mandata ecclesie. quia sancta ecclesia errare non potest. nam a spiritu sancto regitur...

Nota quarto infirmus debet se temptari contra fidem. cogitet primo. quia necessaria est fides. quia sine ea nullus salvari potest. Secundo cogitet. q̄ utilis est. quia potest omnia dimittere dominus. Omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Et iterum. Quod cunq; orantes petieritis credite quia accipietis. Et sic infirmus sanctita dei gra. dyabolo resistet. Quare etiam bonū est. vt symbolum fidei ecclesie a gonizante alta voce dicatur plurimis exspectatur. ut per hoc infirmus ad fidei constantiam animetur. et demones qui illud audire abhorrent. abigantur.

Ego mihi
Pauperes
Omnia vana

Tentacio dyaboli de desperacione

Secundo dyabolus tentat hominem infirmum p desperacionem que est contra spem ante confidenciam quam homo debet habere in deum. Cum ergo infirmus doloribus cruciatur in corpore. tunc dyabolus dolorem dolori superaddit. obiciendo sibi peccata sua presertim non confessa. ut eum ex desperacione inducat dicens. Miser vide peccata tua que tanta sunt. ut nullo pacto veniam acquirere possis. ita. ut dicere possis cum cayn. Maior est culpa mea quam ut veniam merear. Sive quocunque de peccatis tuis cogites. nunquam deum super omnia non dilexisti. hominibus iniuriam intulisti. et tamen bene scis. quod melius potest saluari. qui mandata dei quia dñs dicit. Si vis ad vitam ingredi serua mandata. sed superbe. auare. luxuriose. gulose. iracunde. inuidiose. accidiose. vixisti. etenim predicari audisti. quod propter vnum peccatum mortale. homo potest damnari. Insuper septem opera vestri diei non implesti. que tamen dominus precipue inquiret in extremo die. ut ipse vel electus dicens. hys qui a sinistris sunt. Ite in ignem eternum. Nam esurienti et non dedisti vel mihi dum esurivi et non dedisti mihi potum etc. Et ideo iacobus dicit. Iudicium sine misericordia erit illi. qui non misericordiam fecit. Super terram. Dicis etiam. quod plures noctes et die. in lege dei vigilanter sum laborantes. qui tamen nullatenus de salute tua presumere audent. quia nullus scit an odio vel amore dignus est. et ergo nulla spes salutis tibi relinquitur. Per ista et similia inducat hominem in desperacionem. que sit peccatum mortale. et vita inde. cum misericordiam dei offendat. que sola nos saluat. teste propheta. Misericordie domini. quia non consumpti sumus. Et Augustinus dicit. Nullaque potius in peccato si de venia vera desperetur misericordiam finis tuus perdit. michi enim sic deum offendit q̄ desperando

Ecce ancilla domini

Bona īſpiratio angeli contra deſperatione

Contra ſecūdam tēptationē dyabol dat angēs bonā īſpiratione
ſcīm. Bona quor deſperas. ſunt enī tot latrones cruciatus et
horribilia ypertalles. quot ſunt uarie gutte et arene. enī ſi ſol
tot⁹ uīuūd⁹ pēa ꝙuſſes. ſtrauſ de eis dan nūq̄ patiis pe
uenīā eſſes aſſec⁹ ex cōtritōe ſuiſſes. nec enī uno ad con
tritōē ex facultate habere poſſis. nō deſperare nō debes.
quia ī tali caſu ſufficit ſola contritio attritor. Dicit p̄s. Cor contri
tū et humiliatū deus nō deſpicies. ſt exēplū erit. Quantūq; ho
re-pcor īgemuerit. ſaluus erit. Unde Bernardus ait. Maior
eſt dei pietas ꝙ q̄us īiquitas. ſt augſtinus. Plus potuit
deus nullator ꝙ homo peccator. Ju caſu enī quo tibi conſtaret
q̄ de nūcio deus pūā dare. eſſes. nec q̄ adhuc deſperare debe
res ex q̄ deſperatione uehemēt aliud agitur. ſi q̄ enī piſſimus
deus multo magis offenditur. et alia pēa fortius aggrauant
pena quoq; eterna. ſic ſimilitū augmentum. Xp̄us erat pro
peccatis crucifixus. et nō pro uſtris ut ꝓpriis teſtatur de
cruce. Nō uenit uocare iuſtos ſd peccatores. Exemplū hēas ī petro
xp̄m negāte. paulo ecclīam p̄ſequente. matheo et zacheo publicanis.
maria magdalena peccatrice. mulier deprehēſa in adultio. Julianū
baptiſta xp̄m ī cruce pendentē. maria egyptiaca. ꝛc
Nō ꝙ ego nō timeam ſcelera mea p deſperatione. cogitat ꝙ
pia eſt. pius et dampnabilior omnibus peccatis. et q̄ nūquam deſpe
rādum. ꝓpter quecūq; enim pēa. Dicit ut dicit augſtinus.
Plus peccauit iudas deſperando ꝙ iudei crucifigendo xp̄m.
Sed noster. ꝙ vitis et uerſutia ē ſpes. quia ſedīn ceſſantiū
eſt ſalutis nre anchora. uite nre fundamentū. dux itinerīs quo
tur. nō celū. ſtudeo nūquā ē relinquēda. ꝓpter ecīa quecūq; pēa

Tentacio dyaboli de ꝑsencia

Certo dyabolus tentat hoīem mūmū ꝑ ꝑsencia
que oritur ex magna ifirmitate ducens sūm tu pate-
ris ihū dolorē grauissimū qui est ītollerabilis omī
creature et tibi pauctus ītulis nec eciam tuis exigentibus
demeritis dolor tantus mē deberet causari Nam scriptū
est Ju pcus benignus ītentacio sacienda Ecciam qđ
multū grauat nullus tibi compatitur qđ contra omnē
racionem fieri nemo dubitat licet autem anima ore com-
patiantur tamē maxime ꝓpter bona rebus quciuda tuam
mortem mente desiderant. anima quidem corpore exuta
vix ꝑ primus diei spaciū pro omī substancia rebusta corpus
tuum hospitari volunt Jsis et similibus adtpacientem
que est contra caritatē qua tenemur deū diligere sup omnia
vitam dyabolus hominē ducere vt sic merita sua pdat
Nota q̄ morientis maximus dolor corporis a medio hys
precipue qui non morte naturali que rara est sicut docet
experiencia manifesta sed frequenter ex accidentibus puta febre
vel apostemate vel alio vulnere grauiori et assiduis atq;
longa dissolucionibus que quidem infirmitates plerisq; et pleri-
que ad mortem inducentes et multe morientes adeo red-
dit impacientes atq; murmurantes vt plerūq; ex nimio
dolore in impacientia cadentes atq; insensati videantur
sicut sepe visum est in multis Ex quo vere constat q̄ ta-
les vtiq; in vera deficiant caritate tale Jherominio qui
ait. Si quis cum dolore egritudinem vel mortem pati-
tur seu accipit signum est q̄ sufficienter deum non diligat
Et pcubus ait. Sanitas pcorum in benignis est:

III. в

Bona inspiratio angeli de pacientia

Quarta tertiam temptationē dyaboli dat angelus bonā inspirationē dicens. Homo auerte ab ipacia animā tuā. q̄ nia dyabolus suis machinis iniustationibus inchoat aliud q̄ animae tuae detrimentum querit, nā q̄ ipacians et inuriatur anima pdunt. sicut q̄ pacientia possidetur. teste Gregorio qui aut Regum celorū nullus murmurans accipit. Te igitur inhirmitatis quē respectū meritor tuorū leuis est. non tedeat cum ipa ante mortem sit quasi quoddam purgatorium cum tolleratur ut oportet. videlicet patienter et libenter cum gratitudine. quia no solum gratitudine opus est in hys quae sunt ad consolationē sed etiam quae sunt ad affluentionē. quia ut gregorius ait. Misericorditer deus temptatē adhibet scientiae ne eternam inferat dānationē. Ait aug⁹. Dne hic ure et sem ut michi parcas. Nulle ergo tribulationes te perturbent quia xpm nolle te relinquere confidunt iuxta illud Aug⁹. Male qui nos hic puniri ad deum nos ire querelantur. Non igitur anime salus approbatur in carne beneplacitis sed potius eterna damnatio iuxta illud Aug⁹. Signum manifeste damnationis est beneplacita assequi et a mundo diligi. Et uerum inuenit est q̄ omnibus eternum dānandis omnis lapides no iungunt in solacium, sed magis mirum est q̄ omnibus eternum salūandis omnis lapides no iungunt in periculum. Repelle ergo a te impatientiam tuā. pestē uirulentā et assume patientiam scutum fortissimum quo omnes iniurias animae facilius superabis et respice xpm patientissimum et omnes sanctos usq; ad mortem.

Nota cum infirmus sentit se temptari q̄ impatientia gaudeat. primo q̄ victoria est impatientia. quia ipm inquietando et perturbando a deo quaerit quia dicit. Super quē requiescet spūs meus nisi super quietum et humilem corde. Secundo gaudent q̄ patientia est solicite seruanda. primo quia est uictoria. Unde paulus Patientia est vobis necessaria. et dicit. Nouit oportuit pati xpm et ita intrare in gloriam suam. et gregorius. Nūq̄ seruari concordia nisi q̄ patientia valet. Secundo quia est utilis. Unde dicit. In patientia uestra possidebitis animas uestras. et gregorius. Melioris meriti est aduersa tolerare q̄ bonis opibus inuidere. Idem. Siue ferro martires esse possumus siue patientiam animo geramus. et salomon. Melior est patiens viro forti et qui dominatur animo suo expugnatore urbium.

Gloria
Ave gratia plena

Temptacio dyaboli de vana gloria

Quarto dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum p̄ simplicis complacencian̄ que est superbia spiritualis p̄ quā deuotis et religiosis atq; p̄fectis magis est infestus Cum eū homine ad desperandum a fide aut in desperacionem aut ad impacienciā non potest inducere tunc aggreditur eum p̄ sui ipsius complacenciā tales ei in animo cogitaciones. O q̄ firmus es in fide q̄ fortis in spe et q̄ constanter pacies in tua infirmitate o quam multa bona operatus es maxime gloriari debes quia non es sicut ceteri qui multa mala p̄petrauerunt et tamen solo gemitu ad celestia regna peruenerunt ueritas regni celorum tibi iure negari non potest quia legitime certasti. Accipe ergo coronā tibi paratam et sedem excellenciorem pre ceteris optinebis Per ista et similia dyabolus instantissime laborat hominem inducere ad spiritualem superbiam ac ad sui ipsius complacenciam.

Pro quo notandum q̄ ista superbia multū est vitanda primo quia per eam homo efficitur similis dyabolo nam per solam superbiam de angelo factus est dyabolus. Secundo quia per ipsam homo videtur committere blasphemiam per hoc q̄ bonum qd̄ a deo habet a se p̄sumit habere. Tercio quia tanta posset esse sua complacencia q̄ per hanc dampnaretur. Unde gregorius Remittere do quis bonum qd̄ gessit dum se apud se erigit apud auctorem humilitatis cadit. Et augustinus. Homo si se iustificauerit et de iustitia sua p̄sumpserit cadit,

Quare fum ::
:: omnes quasi
:: ornnes

Bona inspiracio angeli contra vanā gloriā

Contra quartā temptacionē dyaboli dat angelus bonā inspirationē dicens. Miser cur tu superbis asscribendi tibi ipi constanciā in fide spe et paciencia quē tu soli deo asscribenda est cum michil boni ate habens dño dicente. Sine me michil potestis facere Et alibi scriptū est Non tibi arrogas nō te iactes non te insolenter extollas michil de te psumas michil boni tibi tribuas. Et dūs air qui se exaltat humiliabitur, Et iterum. Nisi efficiamini sicut pueli iste nō intrabitis in regnū celorum. Humilia ergo te et exaltaberis dicente dño Qui se humiliat exaltabitur. Et aug. Sicut humilias deus descendit ad te, sic te exaltas deus recedet ate. Mitte ergo mentē tuā a superbia que lucifrū quondā angelorū pulcherrimū fecit dyabolorū deformissimū et de alta celorum proiecit ad infernū profundā que eciam fuit causa omniū peccatorū Unde bernardus Initiū omnis peccati et causa totius pditionis est superbia. Idem. Tolle hoc vicium et sine labore omnia vicia resecantur,

Unde singulariter notandum q; quicūq; mortaliū se temptari per superbiā debet primo cogitare q superbia tam tū deo displicuit q sola ipius occasione nobilissimam creaturarum lucifrū cum omnibus sibi adherentibus de celis precipitavit in eternū dampnando. Et sic ex tali consideracione se humiliat atq; deprimat sua recogitando peccata quia ignorat an odio vel amore dignus sit. Unde debet precipue capere exemplū a sancto authonio cui dyabolus dixit O authoni tu me vicisti cui cū volo te exaltare tu deprimis cū te volo deprimere tu te erigis. Secdo debet cogitare q humilitas tū deo placuit q papue ipius occasione gloriosa virgo maria deū concepit et sup choros angelorum exaltata est.

Wondar umrb
Iurm

Temptacio dyaboli de auaricia

Quarta temptacio dyaboli est auaricia magis
secularis et carnalis infestans que est unita
occupacio temporalium atque exteriorum circa uxores et
amicos carnales seu corporales diuicias atque alia q̄
magis ut uita sua dulcorent per quē dyabolus
hominem maxime decipit unde dicitur. O mulier
tu iam relinquis omnia temporalia que sollicitudi-
bus et laboribus maximis simul congregata cum
uxorem proles consanguineos amicos carissimos
et omnia alia huius mundi desiderabilia quorum
te societati adhuc interesse tibi magnum foret sola-
cium ymo quoq; magnū bonum ocasio. Iher et simu-
lia dyabolus hominum in extremis de auaricia presen-
tat: ut sic per amorem et cupiditatem temporalium
quietum animo dei et proprie salute. Unde singu-
lariter notandum q̄ maxime caueri debet ne cu-
q̄ moriente animi corporales uxor liberi diuicie et
alia temporalia ad memoriam reducantur nisi in
quantum illud ipsarum spiritualis salutis postulet
ratio requirat: quia alias maxime periculosum esset.
tū sic ab ipsis que spūs et salutis sunt: quibus maxime
tunc omnibus uiribus interioribus et exterioribus in-
tendendū est reuocarentur ad ista miseria temporalia
et carnalia tunc cum maxima sollicitudine a memo-
ria et mente remouenda in quibus certe tunc occupa-
ri est valde periculosum

Ne mundum amicio :
Pouꝛꝰ amarus .
Quid faciam

Bona inspirando angeli contra aduersa

Contra quãtã temptationũ dyaboli dat angelis bonã in
spirationẽ deus. Homo aũte aures tuas a malitio
sis suggestionibus dyaboli quibus te inuitare et uisce cõna
tur. Et omnia temptamina totaliter posse pour quoy nunquã ullo
modo saluus esse potest. Sed magnũ impedimentũ ne
mo uox dñi ad eos qui uitis adherent. Nullus quis renũciauerit
omnibus q̃ possidet nõ potest meus esse discipulus. Et te
rũ Si quis uenit ad me et nõ odit patrem suũ et matrem et uxo
rẽ et filios et fratres et sorores adhuc nõ potest meus esse disci
pulus. Itẽ ad eos qui uitis renũciant dicit. Et omnis qui re
liquerit domũ uel fratres uel sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut
uxorẽ aut filios aut agros pter nomẽ meũ centuplũ accipi
et et uitã eternã possidebit. Inuocato etiam pauperis xpi in
cruce pendentis. matrem dilectissimã et discipulos carissimos
pter tuã salutẽ spontaneus reliquisti. Considera eciã q̃ tot
um sanctum uitã conuersationem rerũ temporalium secuti sũt eã audituri u
lud. Dẽte benedictionis mee possidere regnũ paratũ uobis ab
origine mũdi. Impluc ergo ista huc menti et omnia tribulationis tẽ
tamenta atrepidus repellendo cor tuũ ad uoluntariã paupta
tẽ integre commite. et sic regnũ celorũ expugnato tibi debetur dicẽte
dño. Beati pauperes spiritu quia ipsorũ est regnũ celorũ. tanq̃ totũ deo q̃
tibi diuicias gestaret. Temptationis plenarie quidẽ totã tuã fidu
ciã in eũ fundens. Nõ qui infirmus secutus es temptationẽ amantiã
seu amorẽ terrenorũ. considerabi primo q̃ amor terrenorũ a deo se
parati qua de amorẽ excludit teste gregorio qui ait. Tanto
quis a supno amore diuingitur q̃to huc infimis terrenis de
lectatur. Secundo q̃ videretur q̃ uoluntaria paupta hominẽ
beatificat et ad celum ducit dicente dño. Beati pauperes
spiritu quia ipsorũ est regnũ celorum

Ihesus nazarenus rex iudeorum
Ihesus nazarenus rex iudeorum
Ihesus nazarenus rex iudeorum
Ihesus nazarenus rex iudeorum

Sagonizans loqui et vsum rois habere potuerit fundat ozo
nes deu puro uocando ut ipm̄ p̄ fabile uiam suā et
uirtut̄ passionis sue suscipere dignetur. Secundo diligenter
uocet gloriosam virginē mariam p̄o sua mediatrice
Deinde omnes angelos et p̄cipue angelum p̄o sua cus
todia deputatū. Deinde apostolos martires confessores
atq; virgines specialius tamen illos quos vel quas
p̄ius sanius ī veneratione habuit et dilexit quoꝝ ymā
gines cum ymagine crucifixi et beate marie virginis
ei p̄sententur. Item dicat ter istum versum. Dñe labia
mea aperies et os meum annunciabit laudē.
Nam ut dicit secundū cassiodorū tunc creditur esse
virtus ut p̄ca hoīm dimittantur si ī fine vera confessione
dicantur. Item dicat ter hec vba vel similia que ī fine beato
augustino asscribunt. Pax dñi nr̄i ihu xp̄i et vtus passionis
ei⁹ et signū sce crucis et integritas benedicte v̄ginis marie et
benedictio oīm sanctoꝝ ac scaꝝ custodia angeloꝝ necnō suffragia
oīm electoꝝ sint ī ter nr̄e et oīm inimicoꝝ nros visibiles et ī
visibiles ī hac hora mortis nre alme vltimo dicat. In manus
tuas cōmendo spm̄ meū. Si aut̄ ī tm̄ nō sciat ozones dicere
dicat aliquis de astantib⁹ alta voce coram eo ozones vel hystorias
deuotas ī quib⁹ p̄dē sanctus delectabatur. Ipe vero ozet corde et de
siderio ut scit et potest. Unde nota q̄ quo tota salus hoīs ī fine
cōsistat solicite curare debet unusquisq; ut sibi de socio vel amī
co deuoto fideli et ydoneo p̄uideat q̄ ei ī extremis fideliter as
sistat ad fidei constantiā patientiā deuotionē confidentiā et
p̄severantiā xp̄m̄ ī certando animando ac magnis ozones
deuotas p̄o eo fideliter dicendo. Sed heu pauci sunt qui in
morte p̄ximis suis fideliter assistūt interrogando monēdo
et p̄o xp̄o orando. p̄sertī cū xp̄i morientes nondum mori
di sint et anime morientiū sepe miserabiliter p̄cruciant̄

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